3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

1

Country and People

The Name

● 101 The name "Ukrayina" is of Slavonic origin and has four different meanings in the Ukrainian language: 1. border-land or march; 2. any remote area; 3. country in general; 4. the habitat of the people constituting the Ukrainian nation and of their culture.

Originally the accent was on the syllable "kray", which is how the word is accented still to-day in Russian and White Ruthenian. The original meaning of the name as we find it in chronicles of the 12th century and in books up to the 16th century is likely to have been "border-land". In the 17th century, however, parallel to the growth of the Cossack state, the term which was formerly applied to some portions of the territory only began to extend to the whole country and at the same time its meaning was broadened according to political facts: in the conscience of the people the Cossack state was a political power whose historical mission was to act as bulkhead against the Asiatic hordes and to protect Christianity and European culture from an invasion out of the East. The term "Ukrayina" then meant: 1. territory of the Cossack state; 2. boundary between the Asiatic East and civilised Europe.

The book by Le Vasseur de Beauplan "Description d'Ukraine" made this name popular throughout the world, as did his maps "Delineatio specialis et accurata cum suis palatinatibus" (1650).

On the geographical maps subsequently drawn, the term "Ukraine" appears continually (see L. Bagrov: "Die ersten Karten der Ukraine im 17. Jahrhundert", Beiträge zur Ukraine-

● 101 kunde, herausgegeben vom Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institut Berlin 1935).

[186] National consciousness increased as a consequence of oppression by Russians and Poles, in spite of whose resistance the name "Ukraine" as a special term for the Ukrainian territory spread quickly, thus emphasising the fact that there is a difference between the Ukrainians and their neighbors in the spheres of language, race, culture, national feeling and policy.

In Tsarist Russia the name "Ukraine" was the symbol of the Ukrainian people's struggle for independence. It was therefore abolished and replaced by "Little Russia", a term very much hated by Ukrainians.

In addition to the name "Ukrayina" Ukrainians originally used the term "Rus" to designate the political entity of the Kyiv empire to which at that time the territory of Ukraine belonged. Originally "Rus" applied solely to the southern parts of Eastern Europe, whilst the northern parts were called Muscovy. Tsar Peter the Great extended this name to the whole empire and entered it into official European nomenclature. In Peter's state, "Rus"-Ukraine was called "Little Russia" to indicate that this part of the realm was not one with the former Muscovite territory which got the name "Great Russia".

Before the First World War Austria had introduced "Ruthenia, Ruthenian" from Latin "Ruthenus" as official name for the Ukrainians in Galicia. But not before the 20th century was some order brought into the chaos of "Ukrainian — Little Russian — Ruthenian". The USSR officially acknowledged the name "Ukraine, Ukrainian" and the "Ukranian Soviet Republic" has succeeded in keeping its ground at least nominally in the world-wide family of nations.

131 in Sub-Caucasia, but also in the zone between Poland and Ukraine.

●101 The frontiers of the area settled by the Ukrainians are divided
131 into the following sections:

1. the southern section, bounded by the Seas and the Caucasus;
2. the southwestern section — the Roumanian-Magyar section;
3. the western section — bordering on Slovakia and Poland;
4. the northern section — the White Ruthenian-Russian section;
5. the eastern section — Don and Caucasus section.

The southern frontier was reached by the Ukrainian people at the end of the eighteenth century, thus linking up with the trade of the outside world. The frontier runs from the delta of the Danube to Gagry on the slopes of the Caucasus and is about 1125 miles long. Only part of the Crimean Peninsula was settled by the Ukrainians; it is a mixed settlement and includes among its population Ukrainians, Tatars and Russians.

The south-west frontier is about 625 miles long and has shifted considerably in the course of centuries in favor of the Roumanians. To-day the districts of Akkerman and Hotin as well as the north-west area of Bucovina are all that is left of the Ukrainian settlements that once spread all over Bessarabia, Moldavia and Bucovina. The losses on the Magyar frontier have not been so severe.

The western frontier, about 532 miles long, is not clearly defined in the Slovak section, there being many ethnographical insets. In the Polish section this frontier is a mixed zone, especially in the Kholm district and Podlakhia, where that section of the Ukrainian population which joined the Roman Catholic Church in the 20th century has become Polish in national consciousness.

On the northern frontier there is no rigid line of demarcation between Ukrainian and White Ruthenian dialects; east of the Dnipro (area round Chernyhiv) the frontier has become particularly blurred as the land was settled by Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Russians.

The eastern frontier is divided into 2 parts by the wedge of Don Cossack territory projecting west, viz. the section bet-

ween Novokhopersk and Rostov and that extending from Rostov to Otomanivsk. 101 131

It is only in the western section that the frontier runs between the purely Ukrainian area in west Sub-Caucasia (Kuban area) and the Don area; eastern Sub-Caucasia is a mixed belt of Ukrainians and Russians. In the south-east, therefore, we must speak of two frontiers of Ukrainian territory, a narrower and a wider one. The former separates Ukrainian Transcaucasia from the eastern part of Transcaucasia that is partly Russian, while the latter also includes eastern Sub-Caucasia. Throughout its course, the south-eastern frontier is blurred and by no means fixed, as the process of colonisation is still going on.

c) Boundaries and Territories of the three Historical Ukrainian States

The Kyiv state stretched in the 11th and 12th centuries from the Wyslok to the Donets and included areas which were not colonised and others whose inhabitants were not Ukrainians. It embraced almost 1153846 square miles, almost 1/6 of which was constantly inhabited by Ukrainians. 131 175

The second Ukrainian state (the realm of the Cossacks) had an area of about 115384 square miles, western Ukraine was not included within its boundaries.

The third Ukrainian state covered the entire area settled by the Ukrainian people, with the exception of the Don area and Sub-Caucasia. Without annexations (which were of brief duration), the third state covered about 242308 square miles, with the Crimean Peninsula, a part of the Voronesh district, Carpathian Ukraine and Bucovina 265384 square miles, i. e. less than the entire Ukrainian ethnographical territory (276269 sq. miles) and much less than the entire territory originally settled by Ukrainians (357885 sq. miles).

d) Size of the Ukrainian territory

131

Up to World War I 29039 sq. miles of the Ukrainian territory belonged to Austria-Hungary and the remainder to Russia. After the end of World War I and a short period of inde- 162 175

The Ukrainian People

101
175

In general, the Ukrainians have marked national characteristics which make it easy to recognise them even beyond the frontiers of Ukrainian territory. They belong to the Indogermanic group — an old Slav people that grew out of elements provided by Asia Minor and Mediterranean countries. Their original home is that of all Slavs. Its neighbors in the north-west were the Baltic-Lithuanian group, in the south-west it impinged on the Thracian group. In the southern part of the territory which was not originally colonised by the Ukrainians they came into fruitful contact with the Greeks, whose influence spread as far as Poltava in early historic times.

The first Germanic colonisation in the third century before Christ interrupted the contact with the west which had brought old Mediterranean culture to the Ukrainians.

Connections with the Asiatic group of Indogermanic tribes lasted for another hundred years and were disrupted by nomadic hordes from the Urals who destroyed the last remaining Iranic tribes and from that time until the 18th century made the Ukraine steppe unsafe. Wanderings and attacks by nomadic tribes have had no influence on the physical and psychical development of the Ukrainians.

Nations of Slavonic peoples began to form between the third and fourth centuries. At that time the neighbors of the Ukrainians' ancestors in the south-west and the west were South- Slavonic and Czech tribes. In the north and north-west they were in contact with Russian, later White Ruthenian groups, though only as far as culture goes, for racially there was no contact. There is no proof that the "primeval Russian" transitional groups ever existed, though many philologists assert the contrary. On the other hand, the Ukrainian people, as the central group of central Slavs contributed much to the formation of the Russian and White Ruthenian groups of peoples.

Ukrainians appeared first in history as the "Antes" who pushed the Goths farther and farther west and who were the masters of the steppe on the shores of the Black Sea from the Dnister to the Sea of Oziv and also of the forest steppe farther north between the fourth and sixth centuries.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

The Slav migration dates from this time; the Western Slavs slowly moved towards the Vistula, the Oder and the Elbe while the South Slavs wandered to the Balkans, perhaps a little later. Thereupon, ancient Ukrainian tribes also expanded to the west and the south-west, reached the Vistula and, in constant conflict, held these areas against the Poles till the 11th century and longer in parts. In the South the coast of the Sea of Oziv and the Black Sea was occupied and, at the close of the sixth century or, at latest, at the beginning of the seventh, the central Carpathian area and Carpathian Ukraine — long before the Magyars came.

During this period when the Antes were supreme, the formation and the character of the Ukrainian people was strongly influenced by the Goths. The ancestors of the Ukrainians in those days were separate tribes with no tendency to national unity. It was only when towns were founded (Kyiv, Chernyhiv, and others) and when trade connections were developed that the tribes came closer to each other, thus making it possible form a state under a Germanic Viking dynasty. The capital was Kyiv, which had assumed the former rôle of the Greek towns Olbia and Kherson since the 9th century and had become the most important center of trade in Eastern Europe.

Nestor's chronicle and other sources mention many old Ukrainian tribes who lived in accordance with customs of their own (above all marriage and funeral customs). Leadership was in the hands of the numerically small but centrally situated tribe of the Polyany. West of them, as far as the Prypyat, the Derevlyany settled while the largest tribe of the Severyany were particularly active in pushing east and settled on the Desna, the Sejm and the Sula. South of the Polyany on the western bank of the Dnipro were the Ulichy and the Tyvertsy to the west of these, on the Dnister and at times on the Danube; in the 10th century, however, they were forced north and north-west by pressure from the Magyars and Pechenegs.

Many tribes, among them the Duliby, lived in the west of the old Ukrainian area. Tribal names soon made way for political designations which, as for instance in the case of the Volynians, have been preserved till to day. Altogether the tribes of

101 175 Western Ukraine, which were later organised in the united state of Galicia and Volynia, are more pronouncedly national than the Eastern tribes round Kyiv. The Ukrainian tribes were united by the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, this process being promoted by a common religion and a common culture composed of Byzantine and Slav influences; at the same time the feelings of unity among Ukrainian peoples was furthered by political pressure from the Poles and the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir at the head of a growing Russian people (since the 12th century). Other factors that helped this union were the transfer of the political center of Ukraine to the west and the political and cultural tendencies of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian state..

It is only in the north and on the western frontiers of Ukraine that many traditional features and a great variety of signs betraying differences between tribes have been preserved. Here, and in parts of the Carpathian area there are rich sources of ancient Ukrainian folklore.

101 181 These Ukrainians of the mountains and the foothills fall into the three almost equal groups of Lemky, Bojky, and Hutsuly. The Lemky, also called the Lemaky, south of the Carpathians, inhabit the upper course of almost all the Carpathian tributaries of the Vistula and the Visloka as far as the Syan and, along with the foothill group of the Samishantsi (in the Jaslo area), are often called Ruthenians. They cling to their traditions and are economically in a sound position. They were the natural mediators between the Ukrainians and the Western and Southern Slavs, for instance, in the art of folkpoetry. Syanik and Krynytsja are the chief centers in this area.

The Boyky or Verkhovyntsi (dwellers in mountain pastures) live east of the Syan, in the districts of Sambir, Turka, Drohobych, Dolyna, and Kalush and also south of the Carpathian range. The inhabitants of the southern areas of the Bojky in the Carpathian Ukraine were also called Dolyniany (valley dwellers) and are rightly deemed to be the pioneers of the ancient Ukrainian colonisation in the South Carpathians, being in many respects different from their brethren in the north. The Tukholtsi, round Skole and Smorze, are another group that are

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

racially distinct from the rest of the Bojky. In contrast to the latter, who devote themselves above all to cattle-rearing, they are particularly gifted for trade and were known throughout Galicia as smart traders in fruit and wine. 101 181

The Hutsuly, known also abroad as gifted craftsmen (weaving, wood and metal work, ceramics and embroidery) live in the Eastern Carpathians (on the upper reaches of the Prut and its tributaries) in Bucovina round the little town of Vyshnycya, and in the neighborhood of Marmaroshsiget and Hust. In the north-east they join the kindred tribe, the Pokutyany (in the districts of Tovmatsh, Horodenka, Obertyn, Snjatyn and Kuty) who are distinguished by rich folk-poetry and a highly developed sense for art.

North of these mountain tribes we meet the Western Ukrainians proper, who call themselves Ruthenians. They fall into several groups, mostly distinguished by costume and other externals e. g. the Pidhiriany (dwellers in foothills) in the Carpathian foothills as far as the Dnister, the Dolyniany in the Syan valley, in the districts of Peremyshl and Jaroslav and the Batjuki in the districts of Zhovkva, Rava Ruska and Javoriv.

In the East follow the Opolany (as far as the Strypa and the Seret) in the districts of Lviv, Bibrka, Rohatyn, Peremyshlany, Berezhany and Pidhajci; then still further east, the Podoliany and to the north the Volyniany who join the racially more uniform area of Eastern Ukraine.

Ukrainians of the north and north-west have also preserved traces of the customs of the original tribes — for instance the Zabuzhany on the Buh, the Podlashany round Siedlce. The Polesyany ("Polishuky") between Prypyat and Dnipro, show traces of ancient culture; their language is still mediaeval and there are pre-Christian elements in their religious services while their costume reminds us of pictures from the old Kyiv state. They are divided into Polesyany proper, Pyntshuky, Volyniany and Chernyhiv-Polesyany; groups in the north from the still unstudied transition to the White Ruthenians.

Though at first sight there appear to be many differences in the Ukrainian people, they are in reality of small account;

101 they are certainly no reason for a further national division.
181 The common cultural heritage is so great that it covers all peculiarities.

The differences usually cited as important between formerly Austrian and formerly Russian Ukrainians are limited to historical influences. The ethnographical limits of Ukraine have never coincided with politi... frontiers; as far as culture goes, "Austrian West Ukraine" stretched almost to Kyiv, while, on the other hand, definitely East Ukrainian phenomena in the language that were characteristic for "Russian East Ukraine" actually begin to appear in "Austrian" Podolia and Pokutja.

144 The anthropological structure of Ukraine is much more
142 complicated. The Ukrainian people is composed of at last six racial types (Dinaric, Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, Subnordic and Lapponid). The original inhabitants were mostly fair and long-skulled, (Nordic racial type) then these were flooded by the Armenoid, round-headed dark race from the south-east which naturally left marks. This process produced new racial types, which also came into contact with aboriginal Asiatics in the north-east and with the numerous and prolific Mediterranean races originally from Greece and Jtaly, and produced in turn more new racial mixtures. Of all these racial mixtures with a nordic foundation, the most important is the Dinaric which appears immediately before the Bronze Age; since the Middle Ages the decisive element in the Ukrainian type has been Dinaric, to which class almost one half (44 %) of the present-day Ukrainians belong. Dinaric is a round headed dark type with a long and narrow face. Another important racial element in the national Ukrainian type is the Alpine (22 %) also a round headed dark type, but with a round face. Those two races determine the national Ukrainian type (66 %), other elements being more rare and only characteristic of frontier areas.

141 The Ukrainians belong to the Caucasian race and have an average cephalic index of 83.2 (varying from 82.8 to 89.8); the face is narrow, the nose straight and fairly narrow, the arms relatively short, the legs long, the figure being over average height (about 5 ft. 7), while the hair and the eyes are mostly dark

101 The area of Ukrainian economy corresponds to the expansion of the people, i. e. with the compact Ukrainian territory as settled (930 000 sq. km). Yet the frontiers do not quite coincide and the geographical principle cannot be brought into line with the ethnographical. Colonising efforts that even reached the shore of the Pacific must be left out of account, in spite of the Ukrainian population they represent, as must also large enclaves of foreign nations within Ukraine.

On the other hand we must bear those Ukrainian areas in mind where the Ukrainian population, though not yet in the majority, is still increasing (parts of North Caucasia and the Crimea).

487 **2. Ukraine's position in the European system of communications** is fairly central; it is not further from the mouth of the Dnipro to Egypt or Mesopotamia than it is to England, Southwest Germany or Moscow. Ukraine connects the Baltic states with the coasts of the Black Sea, Central Europe with Asia, the lower reaches of the Danube with Russia. Thirty percent (about 2 000 out of 6 000 km) of the route from Berlin or London to the Caspian Sea and thence to India and Western China lies in Ukrainian territory. In Asia Minor, which is near Ukraine, indeed partly connected with it by water, we find the junctions of important long-distance routes (Berlin-Bagdad; Marseilles-Suez-Indochina or Madagascar etc.).

There are no great natural obstacles to communications; even the ridge of the Carpathians is traversed by eight easy passes. From the point of view of communications, the lack of natural frontiers is a great advantage. The watersheds between the rivers flowing to the Black Sea and those to the Baltic Sea are so narrow, low and flat that it is easy to build short canals across them.

3. The geographical situation of Ukraine as a trade center which is not only a result of its position in the system of European communications, was particularly favorable in the Middle Ages. It was largely determined by the priority of overland and river communications over sea trade routes. In Kyiv the trade route to Byzantium intersected the overland route to

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

000 Usually when undertaking any study whatever, one has at least the advantage of dealing with a well-defined subject.

This is not the case with regard to the Ukraine.

101 Actually, from a purely political point of view, no independent state ever bore this name except during a very short period in 1918–1919, a period which coincided almost entirely with an occupation of Ukrainian territory by Austro-German military forces.

To-day, too, no independent state bears this name, as the 'Socialist Soviet Republic of the Ukraine' is an integral part of the Soviet Union.

Consequently it will be necessary that we should first define our subject in order to indicate to our readers the significance of the word 'Ukraine' as used in this book.

It will, therefore, be well first to give some information about this term itself and about its philological origins. The word Ukraine (*Oukraina* or *Okraina*) means 'March,' 'Borderland,' 'Outskirts,' and 'Landsend.'

Formerly it had been applied by the Russians to the southern borders of the old Muscovite State, which now include the eastern districts of the present Soviet Ukraine. One of the articles of the *Sobornoie Oulojenie*, the Russian code of laws of the twelfth century, provides for condemnation to deportation to the 'Ukrainian Lands' (*Oukrainya Zemli*) giving this name to all far-away lands, not necessarily Ukrainian. The Poles used the same name for their south-eastern frontiers. The hypothesis that the name 'Ukraine' comes from a Slavonic tribe of Pomerania, the so-called *Ukres* or *Ukranes*, cannot be accepted.

It is the warriors of those frontier regions, the Cossacks (Horsemen, in the Tartar language), who, in the sixteenth century, have brought this name with

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

them to the right bank of the Dnieper. Some French documents of the epoch which mention the name Ukraine confirm this, as for example: 'The description of the Ukraine, which are several provinces of the Polish Kingdom,' by Le Sieur de Beauplan (Rouen, 1660). Other, more ancient documents used the terms 'Russia,' 'Land of the Cossacks,' or 'Tartary' for these regions.

If one keeps to the word 'Ukraine' in its strictly philological sense, this name could not be applied to the western part of the country, and especially to Galicia, and never to Sub-Carpathian Russia, which has for centuries and in all languages used the name of Russia. In Czech and Polish it was *Rus Podkrpatska*, in Hungarian *Ruska Krajna*, in Old Russian *Ougorskaia Rous* (Hungarian Russia).

Nevertheless it is in Galicia, while existing among foreign peoples and differing religions and cultures which were politically dominant (Germans, Poles, and Hungarians), that the intellectual movement and the Ukrainian language had most developed in resisting denationalization.

One could not, impartially, take advantage of this confusion of terms in order to deny the existence of the Ukraine as a political entity, as we have other examples such as another Slavonic country, Jugoslavia, where such a situation does not allow one to deny the existence of a nation and a State.

From a strictly official point of view there exists a frontier, more administrative than political, which separates the Soviet Ukraine from the rest of Russia. The term 'administrative' seems to us quite correct, as one cannot apply the description of 'political' to this frontier since it has been determined unilaterally by the central government of Moscow in accordance with

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

000 vaguely ethnographical and linguistic data and, especially, by taking into account the economic considerations which decided the division of the U.S.S.R. into 'industrial regions' and which accord with the general plan of organization of the Union.

'This purely administrative and arbitrary character of the factors which determined the internal frontiers of the U.S.S.R. is confirmed by the creation, in the interior of the Ukraine, of an 'Autonomous Moldavian Republic.'

This territory includes the regions of Tiraspol, Ananiev, and Balta on the left bank of the Dniester, opposite Rumania.

It is of a demagogic character and serves only to menace the unity of Rumania by creating a national base of an important branch of her population outside her frontiers.

As for the Moldaves, this new republic only has an insignificant minority of them, which are almost entirely assimilated, especially in the two last-named regions, where their numerical importance does not exceed that of the German colonists.

101 The administrative frontier of the Soviet Ukraine begins on the shore of the Sea of Azov between Marioupol and Taganrog, runs along the Donietz, the tributary of the Don, turns towards the north-west, follows the border of the Central Russian plain, then points to the west and reaches the Polish boundary at about latitude fifty-one degrees north, about one hundred kilometres south of the Pripet, a tributary of the Dnieper.

The political frontier which separates the western parts of Polish Volynia and Galicia from the Soviet Ukraine are the direct result of the defeat of Russia during the Russo-Polish War of 1920, and have no geographic, ethnographic, strategic, or other justification, a fact which also applies to the rest of the frontier

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

101 between these two countries right up to its northern extremity.

Officially the Ukraine is limited to-day to the territory of 'Ukrainian Soviet Republic' which corresponds in some districts to the territory of 'Little Russia' or 'Russia Minor' of the time of the Tsars and to New Russia, conquered by the Russian Empire at the end of the eighteenth century (the districts of Odessa, Kherson, and of Northern Taurida).

But from the historical and linguistic point of view this territory stretches a considerable way towards the west and includes the departments (*voievodstva*) of Volynia, Lvov, Stanislavov, Tarnopol, and some districts of the departments of Polesia (the districts of Stolin, Kamien-Koszynski), and of Lioublin (the districts of Kholm, Bialgoraj, Hrubeiszov, Tomaszov, and of Zamoscie) of the Polish Republic, as constituted before the present war.

To this territory one must add Rumanian Bucovina ('Black Russia') and the northern section of Bessarabia up to the banks of the Dniester—the actual frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania—down to its mouth on the Black Sea. As for Sub-Carpathian Russia, we also include it in the 'great Ukraine' solely *because of the name which it has been given by the Government of Prague after the Munich agreement, while insisting on the complete absence of the existence of any linguistic or other reason for doing so.*

The frontier thus determined has, as we have said, only a linguistic and administrative basis, for within that line the greater part of the population speak the various Ukrainian dialects, and the territory which is enclosed by it bears to-day the name of the Ukraine.

From this Polish-Soviet frontier this line roughly follows the River Pripet, and then descends towards the town of Kholm, then to follow the Rivers Wieprz, San,

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

the Vistula, Wislok, Poprad, the latter in Sub-Carpathian Russia, and finally in Hungary the High Tissa, a tributary of the Danube right up to the former Czecho-Rumanian border. Then this line cuts across Rumanian territory to the south of Tchernovitz (Cernauti) and follows the little river Reout, a tributary of the Dniester, right up to the latter.

Speaking geographically, that which we will decide to call the 'Ukraine' in this book has only one natural frontier: the southern inclines of the western part of the Carpathians. We do not speak of the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov which officially forms its southern frontier, as this is above all the boundary of the Russian continent in its entirety.

Actually, in the north-eastern basin of the Danube rises the immense semicircle of the Carpathians, dominating the Hungarian Plain.

The summits of these mountains reach to more than two thousand metres and are covered by beech, oaks, ash, and some fir trees—typical European forests. They have changed much less than those of the Alps or the Sudeten ranges. Here, in the western part of the Carpathians, in Sub-Carpathian Russia, the forests are still in an almost virgin state. They are still inhabited by bears and wild boar, and are but authentic vestiges —even because of the fact of their primitive state—of the great forests of Central Europe.

The Uzok Range, which has seen the passage of so many invaders in the course of the centuries, has all the characteristics of the high mountains of Central Europe.

From the geo-physical point of view Sub-Carpathian Russia, which stretches along the southern slopes of the Carpathians, is still part of the hilly country, divided by ranges of mountains, with a temperate climate typical of the whole of Central Europe, which has

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

western part of the Ukraine, and we shall confine ourselves to the boundaries as determined on pages 16–19.[1]

We will accept the administrative Soviet frontier as being the northern and eastern boundaries. The coast of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Azov completes the boundary.

Thus the Ukraine, as determined by us, forms a territory whose extreme points are:

In the west longtitude 19 degrees east: the town of Uzhgorod in Hungarian Sub-Carpathian Russia;

In the east longtitude 37.5 degrees east: the town of Lougansk, in the oil-basin of the Donietz;

In the north latitude 52 degrees north: the town of Novgorod-Severski;

In the south latitude 48 degrees north: the town of Ovidiopol, at the mouth of the Dniester. This is within latitudes which are familiar to us, as those of Kiev and of Calais, of Odessa and of Nantes, of Poltava and of Paris correspond with each other.[2]

The maximum extent of Ukrainian territory in a west to east direction, from Uzhgorod to Lougansk, is, as the crow flies, a distance of 1375 kilometres, while in the north to south direction, from Novgorod-Severski to Ovidiopol it is 675 kilometres.

This territory occupies a space of 588,000 square kilometres (about 25,000 square kilometres more than France) of which

Soviet Ukraine has . . .	452,000 sq. km.
Poland (Volynia, Podolia, Galicia)	107,000 sq. km.
Rumanian Bucovina and Bessarabia	17,000 sq. km.
Sub-Carpathian Russia (Hungary)	12,000 sq. km.

[1] See Map No. 1.

[2] See Map No. 2: the map of France superimposed on that of the Ukraine.

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

by the sale of amber, which they were transporting from the region of Königsberg, on the Baltic, to Byzantium. It is there that the great metropolis developed, whose influence will be felt throughout the Slavonic lands dominated by the Norse dynasty. The new Slav-Norse State is known in history under the name of 'the State of Kiev,' although it never officially bore this name.

Another name has certainly, from the eleventh century, been applied to the whole of the territories and populations which were grouped round Kiev under the power of the Norse dynasty, which had already become entirely assimilated by the Slavs and one with the subjects it dominated. This name is 'Rouss,' the same which continued, throughout the centuries, to apply to the whole of Russia and her people.

We will not concern ourselves here with the extremely difficult controversy which exists concerning the origins of this term. It may have been Scandinavian or, on the contrary, Aloroge, it may originally have served to describe the Norse conquerors (the Finns called them *Rouotsi*) or it may have been used before them to name the country surrounding Kiev (as the name 'France' was originally applied only to the 'Ile de France'). We only have to remember that during the most flourishing epoch of the 'Kiev State' it was already applied to the basin of the Dnieper as well as to Novgorod, to Galicia and to the north-eastern territory in which Great Russia was formed. One said 'Russian Land,' *Roussk Zemlia*, to describe the whole of the country. The Metropolitan of Kiev, whose jurisdiction extended to the north and to the south, was designated as 'Metropolitan of all Russia' (*Vseia Roussi*). All the members of the dynasty were called Russian princes, *kniazi rousski*, both in the south and in the north. The territory of

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

X175 101 Novgorod disputed the title of 'the most ancient of Russian lands' with that of Kiev. The chronicler says that the language of the Eastern Slavs is the 'Russian language.' The most ancient code of law and customs, which applied to the whole land, is called 'Russian justice' (*Roussk Pravda*), etc. Prince A. Wolkonsky has estimated how many times the word '*Rouss*' and its derivatives is met with in the Lavrentievsky code of the original Russian chronicles. Up to the year 1110 one meets it no less than two hundred and fifty-one times. There is no other word to describe the whole of the territory and the new, developing nation.

The inhabitants of the country call themselves like this, in using the substantive in '*Roussin*' or the adjective '*Roussky*.' It is this latter form which prevails, like the adjective '*Français*' has supplanted the substantive '*Franc*.' It remains no less true that the substantive form '*Roussin*,' still used to-day in the West of the Ukraine, in Galicia, and in Sub-Carpathian Russia, is the somewhat archaic synonym of the current expression '*Roussky*' (Russian). It is precisely this antique form, '*Roussin*,' which has given birth to the Latin form of '*Ruthenus*' or '*Ruthenian*' which one still sometimes meets to-day. In the Middle Ages the west vaguely used the expression 'Russia' or 'Ruthenia' ('*rex russorum*' or '*ruthenorum*') in speaking of all parts of Russia, and it is still the form '*Imperator ruthenorum*,' which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was the Latin title of the pseudo-Dimitrius, who reigned only in Great Russia. Later, in the nineteenth century, the Austro-Hungarian authorities used the word 'Ruthene' to describe only the population of Western Ukraine and of Sub-Carpathian Russia, which were under their domination.

In speaking also of the 'State of Kiev,' of its territory

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

and its people, we cannot, historically, call them otherwise but 'Russia,' 'Russian land,' 'Russian people,' as these are the expressions used by them, to the exclusion of any other, to describe themselves.

Hemmed in by the forest zone, the Russia of Kiev was condemned to a perpetual struggle with the nomads of the Steppes.

First she had to protect the Slavonic agriculturalists against these enemies. She was, moreover, obliged to control the commercial routes which, after emerging from the forest, crossed the Steppe before reaching Byzantium and the markets of the Near East. These were the essential functions of the political power which had established itself in Russia at the end of the tenth century.

While taking advantage of the final disintegration of the Khazar Empire, the Russian princes tried to occupy the whole course both of the Don and the Volga by military force. But this conquest, the work of Sviatoslav, about 964–71, remained nominal, as the lasting occupation of such vast and remote territories surpassed the means of Russia at that time.

On the other hand the State of Kiev, though it had never succeeded in permanently occupying the course of the lower Dnieper, did succeed, in the eleventh century, in assuring this route the necessary security to make it usable. From the time they established themselves at Kiev, the Varengian princes used this route for the commerce with Byzantium.

Towards the month of November, when the snow tracks could be used, the Prince, accompanied by his *drouzhina*, left the capital to make a tour of the towns and villages in order to receive tribute in kind. This lasted almost the whole winter and only ended in March. During the same time it was the period at which trees

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

101 Ukraina or Okraina (meaning 'border') appears originally to have formed the 'limes Rossicus' or 'Polonicus', i. e. borderland between the Russians, Poles, Turks, and Tatars, the centre of which lay in the lower reaches of the Dnieper valley. The connotation of the word has varied widely. When in process of time this borderland was colonized, and with the rise of Great Russia was extended in many directions, the old name Ukraina or Ukraine was loosely applied to the whole of the enlarged area where the Little Russians (Ruthenians) were in an increasing majority. This extension of the term was facilitated by the modern rise of Little Russian literature, especially in Austrian Galicia, where the use of the Little Russian language was permitted, and 'Ukrainian' rapidly passed from archaeological into literary currency as the equivalent of Little Russian in general.

The connotation of the Ukraine adopted here is that of the General Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council, issued November 20, 1917, in which it is definitely stated: 'Therefore we announce: to the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian—Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Taurida (without the Crimea).'[1]

131 The Ukraine as thus constituted consists of three provinces, the South-west Territory (*Yugo-Zapadny*

[1] On March 29, 1918, the German Government recognized, in accordance with the Treaty of February 9 and the Ukrainian Proclamation, the nine Governments mentioned above as belonging to Ukraine proper, as well as parts of Cholm and Grodno.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

131 *Krai*), Little Russia (*Malorossiya*), and part of South or New Russia (*Novorossiya*). The South-west Territory is formed by the three Governments (*gubernii*) of Volhynia (area, 27,700 square miles), Podolia (16,219 square miles), and Kiev (19,686 square miles); Little Russia by those of Chernigov (20,233 square miles), Poltava (19,265 square miles), and Kharkov (21,035 square miles); and New Russia contains the Governments of Yekaterinoslav (24,478 square miles), Kherson (27,337 square miles), and Taurida (23,312 square miles, of which 9,704 belong to the Crimea). It should be noted that the Ukraine by this definition excludes Bessarabia, the Don Cossacks' Territory, and the Crimea, all of which are included in New Russia.

131 The Ukraine thus occupies an area of more than
● 101 190,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Governments of Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, Smolensk, Mohilev, Minsk, and Grodno; on the west by the recently created Russian Polish Government of Cholm, Eastern Galicia, and Bessarabia; on the south by the Black Sea, the Crimea, and the Sea of Azov; on the east by the Don Cossacks' Territory.

Except on the west and in the south the boundaries can hardly be said to coincide with natural divisions. Nor are they completely ethnographical, for the ethnographical area extends into Kursk, Voronezh, Grodno, Minsk, Cholm, and Eastern Galicia.

(2) Surface, Coast, and River System

Surface

133 The Ukraine falls naturally into three divisions: Polyesia in the north, the Black Sea plateau, extending from the western boundary to the Dnieper, and Little Russia on the left bank of the Dnieper.

Polyesia (of which only the southern part actually falls within the boundaries of the Ukraine as claimed by the Little Russians) occupies primarily the basin of the Pripet, a right-bank tributary of the Dnieper. The central portion consists of an almost unbroken

184 Ukraine, to the small farmers in the Polish Ukraine, helpless and oppressed by the Poles, to the Soviet Ukrainians working in factories or on collective farms, or even to the exiles! They all [217] speak the same language, albeit in different dialects, they write the same Cyrillic script, regard the good fortune of one among them as a common possession, while the misfortune that strikes one is felt by all.

●10/ The thousand souls of Velykyi Lypnyk belong to the westernmost tribe of Ukrainians, the Lemki. [197] They apeak a Slovakian-Ukrainian border dialect. Ukrainian scholars maintain that the Ukrainian settlements formerly reached almost to Cracow, but that the Lemki were pushed back into the mountains by the Poles in the North and the Slovaks in the South. Until the collapse of Poland a bitter nationality fight went on for this small spearhead, especially on the part of Poland, and in the process the Lemki, as the weaker ones, were obliged to yield step by step. The Magyars, no less than the Poles, oppressed the Ukrainian neighboring tribes of Boyki and Huzul and even more than the Slovaks oppressed the Lemki. The Magyar clergy added close to 160,000 Ukrainian souls to their ethnic group. In the census the word "Magyar" stands under the heading of "nationality", and "Greek Orthodox" under the heading of "religion". They are the denationalized Ukrainians who have, for the present, still remained true to their faith. All this began when, at the /11/ end of the last century, the Magyar clergy introduced Magyar hymns, and when in 1912 the Bishop of Haydudorog invented and decreed a Hungarian liturgy in place of the Old Slavic one. (1)

1. The Ukraine and the Church Union, page 33.

1 [The carpatho-, Polish-, Soviet-, and East Slovakian Ukrainians - Analyst]

/12/ Come Along, Friend

•/101 The Ukrainian country has been given various names. It is called the "largest meadow", and this implies the blossoming steppe in springtime and the nomadic herds numbering hundreds of thousands of cattle and sheep. But it is also called "cornhouse", and this recalls the huge granaries in the harbors of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. It is said to be the easternmost Mediterranean country, because its people are dark-haired and gayer than the thick-blooded Russians in the north, because the sun beats down as it does on the shores of the Mediterranean, and because in the Crimea cypresses and cedars tower into the heavens, figs and almonds ripen. Then, too, it is called a "peninsula of Asia" because the steppes of this continent reach over as far as the Dniestr and the delta of the Danube, and for two thousand years one Asiatic horde after another have pitched their tents in these wide spaces. Still others say that the Ukraine is the "bridge to India", for up to the Middle Ages the large trade routes from the West to the Far East and Asia Minor intersected here with those of the northern countries to Byzantium. Napoleon was of this opinion when he wanted to destroy the British Empire through the conquest of India. Czar Paul III[2] was supposed to carry out this plan, and had declared himself prepared to do so. His well-timed murder, however, in those days saved the British rule in India. (2)

2. Trietsch, Russia, page 24.

131 Geographers have established the fact that the Ukrainian national territory extends from 43 to 53 degrees northern latitude and from 21 to 45 degrees eastern longitude. /13/ They say

2[sic--Analyst]

The maximal result means that the Ukrainians in /62
these maximal boundaries have partly an absolute, partly a relative majority. The Ukrainians have an absolute majority in a total of 718,300 square kilometers on which there are 47,657 million inhabitants. (4)

4. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 19.

Within the wider boundaries there are 30.2% foreign minorities, and in the narrower boundaries, 24.7%. (5)

5. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 305 ff.

In 1933 there was a total of 43,360,000 Ukrainians throughout the world; of these 34.43 million were in the Soviet Union, 5.87 million in Poland, 1.1 million in Rumania (including Bessarabia and Bukovina), and 590,000 in Czechoslovakia. The remainder were Ukrainians living outside the country. (6) According to the well-known Ukrainian [101]

6. Ibid., page 325.

geographer Kubyievych, the Ukrainian racial /11/
boundary is difficult to determine in the eastern part of the Caucasian foreland where, besides Ukrainians, there are also Russian and Caucasian peoples, and on the northern boundary, where in the region of Chernigov the question is disputed as to whether the inhabitants are Ukrainians, Russians or White Russians. If we distribute the /61
54,870,000 inhabitants of the entire Ukrainian settled area over the 938,000 square kilometers of surface, 58.5 souls accrue to one square kilometer, while the number is 67.3 if we do not include the thinly populated mixed area of the eastern

[Podolia] [Volhynia]

everyone else from among our ranks. ooo

Before the First World War it was said of 101
Podolia, which you will reach if you wander farther 181
north and which lies like a plateau over the Dniestr 311
Valley, that bread grows on fence posts there, [000]
/Facing page 16: Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. View of the lower part of the city/; /Facing page 17: The old fortress of Feodosiya on the Crimea/ /17/ and that the fences are woven out of sausages. For the first time there lies before you an immeasurable sea of surging grain. Not a house far and wide, rarely a small wood. A groundless, dusty field road, surprisingly seems to lead into empty space, but where you think it ends, it leads you straight as a die, by means of steep turns into one of those deep valleys which the rivers in the course of thousands of years have carved into the plateaus. Down there the Podolians build their loam huts, the whitewashed walls of which have already greeted you from a distance through the green of the plum and cherry trees. If you follow the river upstream, it will more and more often lead you around ponds, marshes and swamps the nearer you come to its sources. You will see more storks than you have ever seen before in your life.

Almost imperceptibly you will reach Volhynia, 101
the western part of which belonged to Poland up to 491
1939, but was subject to the czar before that. You 361
will notice this immediately by the lack of good roads. For, as everywhere in former Czarist Russia, there are only a few paved roads, but all the more are there roads on which in dry weather you sink into the dust and in wet weather into mud. You will 361
notice it also by the cities and towns which are even dirtier and more neglected than those of Galicia. You are in the midst of the ghettos of the world. These cities are a jumble of houses, "with an ugly traffic artery in the middle". They are spread out with a total absence of form, as though they had been

[For plates, cf. pp. 215-216, category 116 - Analyst]

[volhynia]

361 tossed down on the land, without any relationship to it. "The absence of public buildings alone had
[343] a depressive effect. These wooden huts on a slope, supported by stakes as though by high stilts, seemed merely to have been set down as chance would have it, less secure and permanent than nomad tents which the next day perhaps might already be taken down again. It scarcely seemed worthwhile to lay out a few roadways provisionally. For the rest, there was not a trace of a city plan, of a systematizing, architectural hand. Everything seemed temporary and unfinished, simply amassed, never shaped. The expression "shanty town" applied in a special /18/ sense to these places. Our criteria of beautifully compact city plans do not apply. Never concentrated within the area most difficult to attack, never held together by walls and moats, these Russian clusters of houses and courtyards which can scarcely be called cities any more, gradually become lost in the distance, without shape or outline: mirror images of the landscape that bears them, of the language that echoes in them, of the way of thinking of the people they house." (9)

9. Tintrup: War in the Ukraine, pages 23 and 24.

•101 If you would now turn east in the direction
361 of Kiyev, you would come through numerous rambling
563 villages with streets. They contain attractive farms where until recently you would have been warmly welcomed with German sounds. The Volhynia
101 Germans lived here. But you continue northward
133 until the Volhynia plateau with a gradual incline sinks into the Polesian swamps. You avoid this marsh land by turning northeast, and thus come to the extreme northwest tip of the Ukrainian area of settlement, Podlakhia, whose waters flow toward the Baltic. The primeval forests of Bila Vesha are gloomy, but even more gruesome are the deep

101 swamps of Polesia. Faggot and fascine paths lead
133 you from village to village, from settlement to settlement. If you visit this swamp land which extends almost to the central Russian plain and is about at large as Hungary including Carpatho-Ukraine, in spring during the time of thaws or during the floods of early summer, people will row you in a boat to their neighbor's. For at these times the rivers creeping in countless bends through lakes, ponds and tributaries of this country, which is only 170 meters above sea level, flood their banks for many weeks, even months. This landscape is unutterably sad, and, it has deprived of laughter the few people it scantily nourishes with fish, potatoes and oats. Polesia is a land of spooks
[136] without equal, where, across the bog through which
[137] elk and bison, sure-footed, make their way, there rises the "pillared hall of centuries-old oaks, lindens, aspens, ash trees, firs, spruces and pines." /19/ The sun rarely shines into this twilight where at night there are mysterious will-o'-the-wisps in this world of mold. Deathly silence prevails in this accursed land which even the birds avoid. You are standing on the border of the Soviet Union.

133 Descending the navigable Pripyat, and traveling eastward halfway to the central Russian plain, you reach, friend, the Dniepr, which comes from the north. You have come to the sacred river of the Ukrainians. They chant its praises in countless songs. This third largest river of Europe flows 2100 kilometers until, exhausted, it empties into the Black Sea. If it happens to be flood time, you will not be able to see from one bank to the other, the river rises to such an extent. It gets to be six, eight, even ten kilometers wide. Herodotus already compared it with the Nile.

505 If you now sail south[1] on a Dniepr steamer you will reach Kiyev. Do not be surprised at the numerous vessels which you meet on the river, for

1 [From the confluence of the Dniepr and the Pripyat - Analyst]

133 Plain where lie the coal districts of the Ukraine. The more bleak and unfriendly this industrial country with its black chimneys appears to you, the friendlier the quiet, pale yellow Donets beckons yonder, with its broad, green valley and the white chalk precipices crowned by dark green forests. Now your journey takes you south to the Sea of Azov, across the mouth of the Don to the Caucasian foothills. Immeasurable fields of sun-
•101 flowers accompany you into this "second Ukraine".
133 Here you feel the refreshing breath of the snowy mountains of the Caucasus. You are on the shores of the Argonauts. Virile and full of strength is this untouched land at the foot of the Elbrus. Like the mountains, the people, too, are giants. You have before you the descendants of the flower of the Ukrainian people, of the Zaporogian Cossacks who were settled here by Catherine II.

137 [133] And now turn west, start homeward! The way leads across the Pontic Plain which extends north of the Black Sea as far as the Danube. On this "racial meadow" you will look in vain for the much-praised wild uncultivated steppe. You are in the land of Taras Bulba. Gogol, a Ukrainian, erected an imperishable monument to the bold Cossack in his tale. /21/ In those days the grass and shrubs of the steppe grew taller than a man, but today you will find only the knee-high herbs of the temporarily fallow fields, and here and there a thicket of wild cherries, mahaleb and thistles. Perhaps you will also come to one of those meadows that have become rare, which in a brief whiff of spring changes its color like a rich woman her clothes, wrapping itself in silver gray during the summer, and adorning itself in moss-green in autumn, when rain finally quenches the cracked earth. Smooth
133 and flat, amorphous as a calm sea, the Pontic Steppe stretches out before you. Burial mounds as
764 large as houses, called kurgany, point the way to the Dniestr. What ghastly secrets may they not

[i.e. the Caucasian foothills — Analyst]

000 you with a strong drink of spirits after your long journey.

/23/ Grand-Princes

•101 174 A song attributed to Mazepa compares the Ukrainian people to a bird that builds its nest in a tree on a much-frequented street, and is therefore often startled and obliged to live in a state of constant unrest. Today it has been proved that the ancestors built their nest very early along the much-traveled road from Asia to the lower Danubian plains. According to the most recent research (10), the Ukrainians settled as

10. According to verbal statements of the Ukrainian archaeologist Pasternak of Lwow.

early as the Bronze Age between Carpathia, San, Pripyat and Dniepr. Even at that time they were obliged to shoulder a foreign yoke. At all times nomadic peoples with their herds of many hundreds of thousands of sheep, horses and camels were attracted to the succulent grasses of this endless steppe. A thousand years before our era the Cimmerii rode into the Ukrainian settlements at the head of restless peoples. Whether they were nomads or farmers, and whether they came over the Danube or the Volga has not yet been made clear. At about the same time the Thracians in the west sought their way from the Balkans across the Carpathians to East Galicia. To them the native population owes its ceramic art. The period of nomadic invasions occupies 2600 years of the country's history. The Scythians follow the Cimmerii about 800 B.C. Herodotus tells of their battles. Through him and through excavations we learn of the culture of this Mongol-Iranian people. The goldsmith's work with its magnificent ornaments, mostly of Greek origin, found in their

•101 174 graves, calls forth our admiration. Their aristocratic kingdom of the steppes was rigidly organized. For 400 years /24/ their kings accompanied by their retinues rode through the Pontic Plain until they were driven out by a stronger people, the Sarmatians. Scythians as well as Sarmatians repeatedly broke into Hungary on their marauding expeditions. In the second century of our era it is assumed that the Goths arrived in this plain of peoples. They came by way of the water route from the land of the Baltic and were the first river navigators in the Ukrainian countries - according to one group of investigators. Others say they are aborigines, and still others, have them come from the west or even the east. They allegedly dragged their boats on rollers across the flat watersheds between the rivers which flow toward the Baltic or the Black Sea. The fact that in the southern lands they did not sever connections with their homeland is proved by the military and commercial points of support which they established along these waterways. Their neighbors in Galicia were the Vandals. It was in 370 A.D. that the flood of Huns from Mongolia reached the dwellings of the Goths and swept away the latter. This was only the first wave of later mixed Finno-Turkish tides. This inexhaustible stream of humanity, at times slower, at other times torrential, engulfing everything, flowed along. Unpredictable was the will of these hordes which through many generations led a hunter's and shepherd's existence, only to plunge suddenly, like wolves, into the dwelling-places of foreign peoples.

It was not long before the Huns exhausted these ideal pastures and rode on in order to threaten western peoples. Along their trails the herds of the Bulgarians and after them the herds of the Turkish Avars passed across the Pontic Steppes. Finally, the Finno-Turkish race

•101 174 of Khazars established a kingdom here, which extended from the Volga to the Danube. The Khazars were nomads who became domiciled, founded cities and carried on trade. At their court the Jews obtained predominating influence, and it sounds almost unbelievable to say that the khans adopted the faith of Moses. /Facing page [000] 24: Character study of a Ukrainian head*/Facing page 25: A Ukrainian girl with pronounced nordic features*/25/

[101] [174] 181 Kiyev, the center of the Polyani, was tributary to the Khazar. The Slavic tribes of the Antae, the ancestors of the Ukrainians, were divided and fought one another. In the establishment of their society they scarcely developed beyond the formation of a district with several peasant communities. Fields and pastures belonged to all jointly. Family life was a patriarchy, and unanimity was demanded at the village and district meetings. These Slavs built compact houses of loam, and placed embankments around their towns. They cultivated their fields, made pottery and bartered their goods for swords, knives and various handicraft products. They offered sacrifice to the sun god Dashdboh, the wind god Stryboh, the thunder god Perun and other deities.

*

175 It was the Swedish Vikings, called Varangians, who in the ninth and tenth centuries unified the Slavic tribes and established a kingdom with Kiyev as the capital, which, during its most flourishing period, extended from the Carpathians to the Volga and from the Caucasus to the White Sea. They rowed in boats to Lake Ilmen, founded Novgorod and from there, about the middle of the ninth century, conquered Kiyev. Rurik was the name of the Viking king of Novgorod; his warriors were called Rus', meaning "rowers",

*[For plates, cf. pp. 217-218, Category 11c - Analyst]

728 631 [Ruthenians]
ies in Austria and boundaries of the various gubermyas in Russia./

/81/

Fair Play

186 In the winter of 1938/39 the Ukrainian peasants in Poland were no longer recognizable. If after the pacification of 1930 they went about for many years bent and timid like beaten dogs, they now carried their heads higher. It was as though they felt a fresh breeze, and whenever they had business with Polish officials they omitted expressions of due respect, in fact they became cynical. They stood around in groups, talked in the most animated fashion, nudged each other meaningfully and sometimes laughed out loud.

[186] •101 642 What happened? Since the end of October 1938, there was the "Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy" beyond the Carpathians. There on the southern slopes of the Carpathians live the Ukrainian tribes of Lemki, Boyki and the Huzul. On poor soil they eke out a precarious living as small farmers, woodsmen and shepherds. In the warmer season many of them hire themselves out as harvest workers in the fertile Hungarian lowlands, and there they also trade in carriage grease. Before the First World War they shipped salt to Warsaw and fruit even as far as Moscow. Ruthenia, as their little country was once called, always belonged to the Kingdom bearing the crown of Stephen. After the downfall of the Hapsburg monarchy Czech insatiability succeeded in having "Carpatho-Russia" - that is what Ruthenia was now called - assigned to the Czechs by the edict of Saint-Germain. The "autonomy" which the little country was promised on paper in the edict remained an unfulfilled dream for its inhabitants. "Carpatho-Russia" was a province abounding in forests, which Prague could and would exploit. It was only after the solution of the Sudeten

[Ruthenians]

•101 crisis when the centralistic /82/power of the
642 Czechs slackened and the Slovaks stubbornly insisted on their autonomy, that the "Carpatho-Ukrainians" - this is the name they henceforth adopted - were also granted a certain autonomy.

186 This seeming independence, nothing more than a weak, short-lived light which the Hungarian storm was to blow out only a few months later, in March 1939, sufficed, however to nourish vigorously the hopes of West Ukrainians north of the Carpathians. Therefore Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy was more important to them than sunshine and rain. This was the great event which they were discussing and on account of which they even neglected their fields. Just as all Ukrainians from the Kuban to the Carpathians honor the same heroes in their common folksongs, the seafarers of the Rus and the Cossacks of the sech, just as they shared the experience and the suffering of the wars of liberation between 1917 and 1923, so they now regarded as their own good fortune the fact that a piece of land, if only a small one, was apparently under independent Ukrainian administration.

In Ruska Lane and on the "Ring" in Lwów the newly-awakened Ukrainian self-awareness made itself felt in demonstrations. In the middle of October and the beginning of November 1938, the Ukrainians of Lwów protested against the foes of the "Silver Land". Not only in the Galician metropolis, but also in Przemysl, in Stryj, in all of West Ukrainia, the Ukrainians mustered: cries of abuse against Poland and cries of "Slava Ukrajini!" - "Glory to - the Ukraine!" - were heard, and the national anthem was repeated innumerable times. It did not cool the hot passions to have Poles on these occasions beat to death a few Ukrainians or shoot them down. The fever of hope that they might shake off Polish domination seized them. Ukrainian daily papers filled their front pages exclusively with reports from Carpatho-Ukraine.

11: Obermaier--100 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1
[Bukovina]

241 the Sea of Azov also deserves to be mentioned./ /Key inside map: I Rye, potato and oats region. II Wheat and rye region; sub-zone of rye, wheat, potatoes; sub-zone of rye, winter wheat, sugar beets; sub-zone of summer wheat, rye, sugar beets. III Region of wheat, barley, corn; sub-zone of winter wheat, corn, barley, sunflowers. IV Summer wheat and rye zone; cotton. V Region of corn; sub-region of corn, wheat; sub-region of corn, barley. VI Oats and potato region. VII Forest region. VIII Grassland (pastures, alpine pastures, natural meadows). ++++ Area with abundant millet cultivation. ⊞ Area with abundant buckwheat cultivation. ....Northern boundary of region growing abundant amounts of corn. ∿∿∿ Intensive horticulture./ /97/ Cracow a Ukrainian
873 professor lectured in Polish on Ukrainian literature, and in Warsaw Polish and Ukrainian professors lectured in Polish on Ukrainian literature and "History of the East" which meant history of the Ukraine under Polish rule. Moreover, study in Lwów was made very difficult for Ukrainian students. Warsaw wanted the Ukrainians to study in Cracow and in the capital of the country, and to have them taken out of the Ukrainian environment and drawn into the Polish one. In this connection a secret numerus clausus proved very useful: the Ukrainians, in contrast to their smarter Polish colleagues often failed.

*

● 101 How was the situation in Bukovina? This little country of 5000 square kilometers on the northeast slope of the Carpathians in between the three countries, Poland, Soviet Union and Rumania, was, until its transfer to the Habsburg Kingdom in 1776, purely a colonial country of the Sublime Porte. Under Austria it experienced a rapid rise, and its chief city Czernovits (now Chernovtsy) was given the epithet "Vienna of the

[Bukovina]

●101 East". The region was very fertile, with the exception of the western part which was overgrown with beech forests. It was thickly settled by Germans, Walachians and Ukrainians. In the cities there were a great many Jews. As a result of a secret agreement between the countries of the Entente, it was transferred to Rumania August 18, 1916 and on November 11, 1916, it was occupied by troops. Up to this day the Ukrainians enjoyed practical autonomy. Neither their compatriots in Czarist Russia nor in Galicia, where the Poles, thanks to their predominance at the Viennese court, had secured the upper hand, nor in Hungarian Carpathia were in possession of so many rights and institutions as they were, beginning with the public schools and on up to university chairs and to their own government. Bukovina was the "pet" of Vienna. It could not maintain this privileged position under Rumanian domination. /98/

Merely a Poet

000 Solemn, like a religious service, was the first performance of Ukrainian concert music in the Old Municipal Theater of Lwów on a Sunday in March, 1939. Magnificent choirs of many voices swayed humbly, rose up exultantly as though heaven should hear them; light sopranos twittered, deep basses rolled, and finally the song died away like a breath of the steppes. It was a strangely moving music in an echoing language. But the world knew little about it. There was no station that might broadcast it, no disk that might reproduce it. The art of this people, talented in song and music, experiences the same fate as the manuscripts of its scholars which molder in drawers because they do not find any publishers. And yet there is tireless work going on in all fields of art and science.

The first performance was the great event which no one must miss who had a good opinion of himself.

174 Ivan Kalita destroyed the power of the nobility and therewith laid the foundation for Muscovite despotism. A further example of historically proved contrariety is furnished during the time of Ivan the Terrible. The most sinister force rules at that time in Moscow, while in the Ukraine the Cossacks are preparing to found the freest state that probably ever existed in East Europe.

*

•101 184 Among the Ukrainians there are, in turn, tribal differences. The inhabitants of the dark forest region of Podlakhia and Polesia, who are obliged to wrest all fruits from the earth, can scarcely be as gay as those of the sunny spaces of the south. Those are melancholy and oppressed people who up there carry on the struggle for existence. Farther south, from the fertile hills of Podolia way over to the foothills of the Caucasus, there are fields of golden grain, fruit grows of its own accord, the sky is blue for many months, and on the Kuban there is paradise itself. Cheerful, candid people live here.

181 The Ukrainians are a peasant people and more than 90% of all children first see the light of the world through the small window-panes of a straw- or shingle-covered cottage. They are peasant souls - that is, quiet, good-natured, placid human beings who cling to the sod, to their own farm, who want to plow, sow and reap. They are poor, but honest and at the same time hospitable and positively ceremonially polite. People like to call them "Southerners" because of their cheerful disposition and their humor. They love that contemplative life which /132/ is hard to combine with constant hard work. It has not been a blessing to the Ukrainian that the soil yields richly and effortlessly, that his daily bread need not be obtained amid constant toil and hardships. If that were the case, perhaps he

I INTRODUCTION

101 The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the Ukraine) is one of the U.S.S.R.'s sixteen constituent Union Republics. Situated in the south-western corner of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine is bordered on the south by the Black and Azov Seas and the Crimea (part of Russia); its western border touches the frontiers of Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland as well as the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Towards the north the Ukrainian S.S.R. verges on two other Soviet Republics: Byelorussia and Russia; and it is the Russian neighbourhood of the Don river which forms the Ukraine's eastern border.

101 135 In economic development and in population the Ukraine is second greatest of the Soviet Republics. It has a fertile soil, a mild humid climate, and is rich in deposits of coal, oil, iron, manganese and salts, as well as in building materials. It has four main rivers: the Dnieper (third largest in Europe), the Dniester, the Bug, and the Donets (a tributary of the Don), which are navigable and are also useful reservoirs of power.

433 162 Before 1941 the Ukraine contained more than one-fifth of the inhabitants of the entire Soviet Union. Its industry produced 54 per cent. of the coal, 60 per cent. of the pig iron, 48 per cent. of the steel, and 35 per cent. of the manganese ore turned out in the whole U.S.S.R.; it manufactured railway engines and cars, tractors, turbines, harvester combines, and mining and agricultural machinery for all parts of the Soviet Union. "It also produced artificial fertilizers, soda, glass and cement. The output of the sugar, meat-packing, flour-milling, distilling, and dairy industries reached great dimensions. Fishing was developed in the Black Sea and Azov Sea. The Dnieper Power Station, 361 the largest in Europe, was famous throughout the world. The cities of the Ukraine, both old and new, developed rapidly; during the past 25 years 77 new cities and 285 industrial settlements were built."[1]

241 Agriculture also was highly developed. In 1937-38 Ukrainian farms accounted for nearly one-fifth of the grain, one-sixth of the potatoes, and two-thirds of the sugar beet produced in the Soviet Union. The Ukraine also had a large proportion of the total Soviet Union livestock. Millions of head of cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry were raised. Ukrainian agriculture was highly mechanized; before the war there were 90,000 tractors and 31,000 harvesting combines operating in the fields.

Area and Population

131 In January 1939 the Ukrainian Republic had an area of about 469,700 square kilometres including 8,000 square kilometres in its

---

1 The Sixteen Soviet Republics, Soviet News, London, 1945.

Soviet Union in 1939.

101 In the years before its reunion with the Ukrainian S.S.R. Western Ukraine was relatively undeveloped, as compared with the industrial and agricultural expansion which was taking place in the Ukraine itself. The backwardness of Western Ukraine before its incorporation into the Soviet Union is shown by the following table, which compares per person output in 1938 of the Ukrainian S.S.R. with that of Western Ukraine.

TABLE II

433 Per Person Output of Western Ukraine and of Ukrainian S.S.R., 1938

	Western Ukraine	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Electro power (kilowatt hours)	13.05	305
Cement (kilograms)	12.2	39.7
Bricks (pieces)	17.0	50.3
Sugar (kilograms)	5.9	58.9
Soap (kilograms)	0.5	2.58

Source : Planned Economy, State Planning Commission, Moscow, 1940.

Transfer to the U.S.S.R. of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina

728 On June 26, 1940, the Soviet Government communicated with the Rumanian Minister in Moscow concerning Bessarabia[1]. In 1918, said the communication, Rumania, "taking advantage of the military weakness of Russia....(seized) a part of her territory, namely, Bessarabia, which is principally occupied by Ukrainians..." The Soviet Government, never having recognized any justice in Rumania's claims to Bessarabia, demanded the immediate return of this territory to the Soviet Union. The communication also stated that "... the return of Bessarabia is organically connected with the question of the return to the Soviet Union of that part of the Bukovina the majority of whose population is connected with the Soviet Union not only through the community of their historic destinies but through the similarity of their language and national Constitutions".

It was therefore proposed that Northern Bukovina, as well as Bessarabia, should be given to the Soviet Union, and that the transfer should take place immediately. On June 27, 1940, after the Rumanian Government's acceptance of the Soviet Proposals, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were re-joined to the Ukrainian Republic. The total area of these two ceded territories was 50,400 square kilometres, of which 21,300 were added to the Ukraine, and 29,100 square kilometres were incorporated into the newly created Moldavian S.S.R.

1 The Bulletin of International News, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, July 13, 1940.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

MAGICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS[1]

PART I

The Black Art and its Representatives

To the inhabitants of the plains and plateaus and the majestically rising Carpathians of Southern Poland—the Galician Ukrainian—life in its manifold aspects is pervaded by a mul-

[1] The Galician Ukrainians, also known as Ruthenians, are Eastern Slavs, and constitute a branch of the numerous Ukrainian, or Little

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

771 titude of mysterious, evil forces which he endeavours either to
789 ally himself with, propitiate, or combat in order to assure himself of good luck or avert the many calamities which these supernatural powers may bring. Magical beliefs and practices are therefore widespread and deeply rooted among the people. Even where the church has opposed and tried to counteract the older notions and usages, its success has been at best only partial. What it often has effected was a change in form, or the substitution of an authorized rite for an ancient magical practice.[2] The priest, for example, sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer by holding a special midnight Mass, the *czorna służba* (black service), at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an enemy.[3] At other times he acts as medicine man, e.g. by stepping over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his
[347] backache.[4] A case of substitution is noticeable in the rite observed before moving into a newly constructed house. Wherever the old practices of sacrificing a black rooster, as an offering to the Devil or as a preventive against disease, has become extinct, its equivalent has appeared in the solemn consecration of the house by the priest.[5]

754 Among the Ukrainians, as elsewhere, magical beliefs and prac-
791 tices have two main aspects, which may be termed respectively
789 the black and white arts. While the former has its prime source in the arch enemy of man, the Devil, the latter, which functions mainly to counteract evil influences, relies on some powerful medium, sometimes God himself, to neutralize or overcome the

2 Russian, people inhabiting South Russia. They occupy the eastern section of the former Austrian province of Galicia, which is at present part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the latter the Carpathian mountains to the south.

[113] [3] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

[4] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Kuzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 277.

[5] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 71.

[5] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 282.

7

THE BRIDGE BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

101 The political boundary between Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia is not a clear-cut dividing line between two different worlds. There are a number of Ruthenian peasants in the eastern parts of Slovakia who form a gradual transition between the two neighbours. True, the Slovaks and the Ruthenians are two different Slav races. The Slovaks are closely related to the Moravians and Czechs in the West; the Ruthenians belong to the Russian family—mainly to its Ukrainian branch—although the thousand years of isolation from their kinsmen have had a specific effect on the character of the Ruthenian population on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. But there is a gradual link between the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, and Carpathian Ruthenia may aptly be described as a bridge between the Western and Eastern Slavs.

131 175 Geographically, too, the two neighbouring countries are similar. A chain of wooded mountains separates them from the kindred Slav populations to the North and North-East; while to the South both countries have stretches of fertile plain which run down unobstructed into the vast Danubian basin. That is the reason why both countries fell victim to Hungarian expansion early in their history and remained under Hungarian rule as second-rate provinces for a thousand years. Until the end of 1918, neither Slovakia nor Carpathian Ruthenia were on the map.

177 212 Both these countries suffered from the long alien domination which hampered their development. Slovakia was the more fortunate of the two because, in spite of her political separation from the independent lands of the Czech Crown, cultural and religious contacts with them had been maintained for centuries. But the Ruthenians received less support of this kind from their kindred beyond the Carpathians. As a result, Ruthenia was still more at the mercy of her Hungarian overlords and remained in a state of greater backwardness than her neighbour in the West. This is well illustrated by the degree of illiteracy in Ruthenia under the Hungarian regime which was, indeed, appalling; according to the last Hungarian census about three quarters of the Ruthenian population could not read or write.

177 181 Only people of considerable racial individuality could have resisted systematic denationalisation as the Ruthenians did. They may be a simple people; but their mode of living, their outlook and their character have an unmistakable stamp of their own.

They are a mountain people who cling to the place where they

24: Cech and Mellon S-2 (no date) 1944 Ukrainians-Ruthenians

Shepherds blow huge horns to round up their sheep by night

511 / 464 / 241 / 311 In the narrow valleys and on their slopes are cottages and straggling villages where the Ruthenian uplanders live. Nearly, all the huts are made of wood and are flanked by gardens with patches of sunflowers. In the higher altitudes the land consists mainly of meadows, and such meagre fields as there are yield scanty crops of oats, potatoes or hemp—not sufficient to live on. No wonder that during the summer months it is chiefly women and children who can be found at home; the menfolk either fell trees in the forest or earn their living as seasonal labourers in the towns and villages of the more prosperous South.

101 / 162 These lonely mountains and forests breed a people with a distinct character of their own. Living as they do in seclusion, they not only differ from their Slovak neighbours but show distinct regional differences

among themselves. They can be divided into three well-defined tribes —the Lemki on the Slovak border, the Boiki in the centre, and the Huculs in the eastern tip of Ruthenia.

The most interesting tribe are the Huculs. They have preserved their tribal characteristics better than their kinsmen. Their standard of education is higher, and they are more conscious and proud of their national individuality. When the Hungarians invaded Ruthenia after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the Huculs offered the stiffest resistance, and during the war they were the core of the partisan force fighting against the totalitarian powers. Like the other Ruthenian mountaineers, the Huculs are largely wood-cutters and raftsmen. But they are distinguished by their skill as carpenters and wood-carvers. This is clearly reflected in their mode of life. Their wooden-cottages are neatly built and furnished and impress the visitor by their scrupulous cleanliness. Their tribal individuality and artistic skill find expression in the numerous carvings with which they like to decorate their unpainted houses.

The neighbouring Boiki have also, to some extent, preserved their pride in racial individuality, and their mode of life, though more primitive, has some interesting features. They are kind-hearted, sincere and hospitable, in spite of their poverty. Though less proud than the Huculs, they fly into a temper when crossed, and impulsive outspokenness is one of their traits. They live in cottages and huts which they like to paint in blue and brown, and this makes their exterior rather attractive. But the interior does not always live up to the façade. The better-off Boiki manage to live in fairly decent cottages with two or more rooms, but the huts of the poor often consist of one room only—a dark room with no chimney, one small window, and some roughly made furniture. Some have no bedsteads in the true sense of the word; along the whole wall of the room one may find a long "plank-bed" where the grown-ups sleep at the one end and the children at the other. When the children grow up they sleep on separate beds of the same kind. Unlike the Hucul houses, the Boiki huts have no wooden floors. The domestic animals often share the same room with their masters in winter, sleeping on the bare earth. For many families such a room is therefore a kitchen, living room, bedroom, hall and stable in one.

Much the same applies to the Lemki tribe who live partly on Slovak territory. They are the poorest Ruthenian tribe and their racial character has undergone a certain deterioration. Their standard of life is often appalling, the hygiene leaves much to be desired, and they have the largest number of illiterates, though some improvement has taken place under the Republic.

Mountainous Ruthenia is a country of traditional costumes. The

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Ukraine RD1

S.U. 523 635 UK 698 175 Soviet Russia has often followed in the footsteps of Czarist Russia, but as far as the appraisal of the Ukraine is concerned there is no continuity between old and new Russia. Czarist Russia simply denied the existence of a Ukrainian nation and denounced all Ukrainian national feeling as 'South Russian separatism'. Soviet policy, on the other hand, has encouraged Ukrainian nationalism in as far as it was able to serve Russia's territorial expansion. The most spectacular territorial advance which the Soviet Union has made since 1939 was that realized under the slogan 'unification of all Ukrainian lands in one national State'. In the course of this unification the Soviet Union not only re-annexed territories which Russia had lost in the Civil War but also occupied territories which had ceased to be 'Russian' ever since the Middle Ages, such as Eastern Galicia with the city of Lvov.

UK. [101] There cannot be the slightest doubt about the existence of a Ukrainian nation which some Russian nationalists tried to deny in the past, but it would be a mistake to consider the Ukrainians, despite their numbers, as a nation equal in character to the French, Italians, Spaniards, etc., as the extremists among the Ukrainian nationalists would like to represent it. The Ukrainians cannot claim to be historically and culturally a nation so complete that they could afford to cut themselves loose from their Russian neighbours and exist without them.

All foreign invaders fighting Russia had illusions in this respect; they all believed in a separation of Ukraine and Muscovy and conducted their political warfare accordingly. The Swedish King, Charles XII, allied himself with the Ukrainian Cossack Hetman Mazeppa; Napoleon came to Russia with the project of a Ukrainian State, 'Napoleonide', cutting Russia off from the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. The Third Reich of Adolf Hitler also tried to play up the Ukrainian issue against Great Russia.

'LITTLE RUSSIA' AND 'NEW RUSSIA'

UK. 101 186 538 There is every justification in the demand for a genuinely autonomous Ukraine but there is no logic and no life in an anti-Russian Ukrainian nationalist ideology. Neither Russian and Ukrainian history, nor the area of Russian and Ukrainian settlement, nor even Russian and Ukrainian literature can be separated from each other. Gogol, for instance, who wrote in Russian only, can be claimed by the Ukrainians not only because he was born in 'Little Russia', as the Ukraine used to be called in Czarist times, but also because some of his great works are devoted to his homeland, including the most Ukrainian literary work *Taras Bulba*. The Ukrainians have failed to produce any Ukrainian-writing poet or writer who even approximates to the importance of a Gogol.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
UKRAINE RD1

Nor is Gogol an isolated example. Count Alexey Tolstoy too belongs to some extent to the Ukraine and no Ukrainian poet has succeeded in paying to his homeland a more beautiful lyrical tribute than Tolstoy's.

Were the Ukraine 'Little Russia' only, the land of the Cossacks, the problem would be more straightforward; but the Ukraine is, apart from minor territories, at least Little Russia plus New Russia. New Russia comprises those territories along the shores of the Black Sea which were incorporated into the Russian Empire for the most part under Catherine the Great. It was only by the amalgamation of Little Russia with a large part of New Russia that the Ukraine obtained a sea-coast and was able to include within its borders places like Odessa, Kherson, Mariupol and Nikolayev whose history was in no way linked with that of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetmans. New Russia became a true microcosm of Europe. Just as the ancient and medieval history of New Russia is a mosaic of the history of many peoples which had settled on the northern shores of the Black Sea, traded with the goods and products of its hinterlands and founded states, a history of Greeks and Scythians, Khazars, Goths, Genoese and Tartars, so too the history of modern New Russia is a tale of all sorts of races. People from many lands transformed the steppe into arable soil, built ports and railway lines and developed the industry of the Donets Basin. New Russia was a little America in the sense of being a melting-pot of European races, with the difference, however, that not all pioneer settlers forgot the language of their forefathers in the Ukrainian-Russian surroundings.* The people who brought New Russia into being included sons of every nation of the Balkans, many Germans and even individual Frenchmen who assumed high administrative posts there. At least one Briton played a distinguished part in the development of New Russia, John Hughes, a pioneer of coal-mining in the Donets region, to whose initiative is due the foundation of the big industrial centre now called Stalino. (Until the early twenties the place was called after him 'Yuzovka'.)

UKRAINIAN DIASPORA IN THE U.S.S.R.

Whilst Russians and other peoples shared with the Ukrainians the credit for the colonization of what is to-day the Ukrainian S.S.R., millions of Ukrainians now live dispersed all over the Soviet Union.

The Ukraine, being a densely populated country, was able to contri-

* An ethnical group of colonists in New Russia, who were completely assimilated by their Russian-Ukrainian surroundings, were the Serbs, of whom about 100,000 came to the Southern Ukraine between 1739 and 1752. The Serbs colonized two Ukrainian regions, one on the right bank of the Dnieper, originally called 'New Serbia', and the other in the Donets Basin, called 'Slavyanoserbia'. A century after the Serbian pioneer immigration into New Russia the Serb element could no longer be traced in any population statistics of the Russian Empire.

bute a large army of colonists to the Slav ethnical expansion towards the East at the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century. To describe the Ukrainians as junior partners in the Russian colonization of Eurasia would hardly do full justice to the role which they played. Thus among the eight 'Governments' of European Russia which between 1897 and 1911 supplied the highest number of settlers for Russian Asia four were predominantly Ukrainian, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev and Kharkov – two were Byelorussian – Mogilev and Vitebsk, and only two Great Russian – Kursk and Voronezh.

The share of the Ukrainians in the Eurasiatic colonization makes any complete separation of Ukrainians and Russians, such as the extreme Ukrainian nationalists advocate, difficult if not impossible. Almost everywhere throughout the Soviet Empire there are Ukrainians living as workers, peasants and technical specialists. According to incomplete figures referring to the early thirties 1,049,000 Ukrainians then lived in Kazakhstan, 966,000 in Western Siberia, 447,000 in the Lower Volga region and roughly 400,000 in the Far East.[1] Smaller groups of Ukrainians lived in the Middle Volga region (215,000), in the Ural region (137,000) and in the western regions of the R.S.F.S.R. (186,000). This last-mentioned group of Ukrainians, particularly those of the province of Bryansk, constitute a particularly interesting species. They speak a strange Russian-Byelorussian-Ukrainian mixed language but have retained some sort of romantic attachment to the Ukraine on account of the alleged relationship of their forefathers with the Ukrainian Cossacks.[2]

The largest Ukrainian group outside the Ukraine, over 3,500,000 strong, inhabits the North Caucasus region where the Ukrainians in certain areas form up to 60 per cent of the total population. Ukrainian nationalists have therefore demanded that the borders of the Ukrainian Republic should be shifted towards the east to include in particular the fertile Kuban area.

The Ukrainian diaspora, particularly in the R.S.F.S.R., was steadily reinforced throughout the inter-war period. Between the 1926 and the 1939 census a considerable number of Ukrainians left the Ukraine to settle in the new industrial centres of Russia proper, thus increasing the Russian-Ukrainian intermixture. Through this migration such typical national Ukrainian provinces as Poltava and Vinnitsa lost within twelve years 15 and 7 per cent, respectively, of their total population.

RUSSIAN DIASPORA IN THE UKRAINE

From the point of view of future Ukrainian-Russian relations the existence of the Russian ethnical element in the Ukraine is no less important than the numerous Ukrainian diaspora in the R.S.F.S.R. and in the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics.